1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

888 stay in or near the household of some other relatives including an
887 ex-husband whom she will refer to as "brother". Whether or not she
565 is being supported by a son, an old woman of the lower ranks has an
443 accepted role as a gurdoma, i.e. a seller of cooked foods, or even acts sometimes as a small retail trader who sits daily in the small stalls around the town, at markets, near wells, and sometimes attends nearby markets. Four old women in Magumeri (one of whom lived completely alone) had each saved or acquired enough capital (two to three pounds) to buy a well for herself, and through the sale of the water obtained a steady source of income. It is not meant to suggest that at some point in time women suddenly decide they are now old and become sellers of cooked food, or petty retailers of uncooked foods,
[434] and small sundries. All her life and increasingly so with old age, the peasant woman raises a little extra cash for herself by doing petty trading or obtaining some raw foodstuffs either from her own garden in the compound, or buying it with her own money and preparing it for sale in either the large weekly markets or a small daily market stall. With old age she merely extends this activity into a full-time occupation.

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565 Women from high ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives who support them. A widow of a high ranking man is sometimes supported in his compound by the heir to the
888 house, who may be a brother of the dead man. More commonly she re-
565 turns to a household of her consanguinal relatives. Many of these
454 upper class women have some capital which started with their dowries, and may have been increased through inheritance and private trade during their lifetimes. The trade is often carried on by intermediaries (male servants of the household) due to the high incidence of

888 semi-seclusion among upper class women, and expands as the woman grows
565
454 into old age.

888 In the case of a man, ideally he reaches the golden part of his life in old age. He is respected. His work is carried on by descendants, and his authority and senior position in a patrilocal extended family organization may have expanded to the point where he is the head of group of households, if his sons and junior brothers remain in or near his compound. At extreme age, with the progressive appearance of infirmity, he relinquishes many of his duties, and serves merely as an adviser who is consulted on most major decisions by his subordinates in the compound organization.

888 The difficulty in the universal realization of this
592 cultural ideal is its functional dependence upon residence patterns
183 for its development. As we have seen the primary determinants in the
[596] structural cohesion of the patrilocal family organization are the elements of power and authority, which the individual householder is able to wield, manipulate and maintain during his active life, in contrast to the total distribution of power and authority in the society.
[565] Thus, as in many other segments of Kanuri culture, the ideal goals are manifestly more attainable among the upper ranks of society than at the lower levels. However, many peasants, due to some mild good fortune which gives them just a slightly higher proportion of economic and/or political power than their dependants, find themselves approaching old age successfully as heads of patrilocal organizations in which they are the respected senior members. Contrarily, it is also considered good and proper behaviour to maintain a role of loyal subordination to a strong extended household organization. Attachment to a senior in the organization leads to expectations of political and

556 teacher said he would wait in the anthropologist's house until the man
571 left so that it would be possible to return to his compound without being accosted by the man and his request. During the conversation that followed, the informant described how he felt somewhat ashamed at not being able to give freely to everyone who asked him for things, but knew that if he did so he would rapidly be reduced to poverty. Besides, he said, giving once leads to expectations in the future of similar generosity both by the receiver and others. He closed the conversation by saying that he thought that this difficulty over gift-giving and generosity versus spendthriftiness and miserliness, was the most difficult problem in Bornu social life.

556 What this means is that the ideal of kore (wise generosity)
183 is extremely difficult to achieve for the mass of the population. For the very rich who are able to distribute much wealth to many loyal and potentially loyal followers, this is less problematical. But for the great majority of Bornu society there is a constant conflict between the desire to validate status and raise it on the one hand, and on the other, the necessity to maintain some solvent standard of living for oneself. This points to a great difference between European and Kanuri cultural tradition. In the West it is considered virtuous to save rather than spend, and the individual obtains some satisfaction both internally and through the praise of others for this behaviour. The Kanuri can receive public recognition of high or low status by their use of property both for themselves and others, i.e. consumption.
454 This has resulted in a positive evaluation of covert or secret savings,
123 which tends to partially relieve the conflict between status validation and the necessity of maintaining a standard of living. This is the reason why Kanuri friends were forever telling the author not to reply

434 man of means. That is to say it is not correct to extrapolate the proportions of Kanuri budgets into the future, unless incomes and social values remain constant.

454 Saving takes place in Bornu on a short term basis, and attempts to save after harvest time for a marriage, or for a few weeks in order to buy a new robe, are quite common. However systematic and morally sanctioned long term savings are impossible for the majority of the population.

156 571 The traditional reason for savings in the Western world is the highly responsible nature of each man for his own subsistence. The Kanuri on the other hand obtains much of his personal security from his social relationships, his kinship ties, and the other groups of which he is a member. Thus a man may always take a meal at a relative's, friend's or superior's house. It is because of the traditional interpretation placed upon security, that increased income is at present utilized to create stronger and more widely ranging sets of bərsum relationships with kin and non-kin subordinates.

178 511 Nevertheless, increased cash incomes in the last twenty years, have been changing and expanding Kanuri consumption patterns. Today, city people like to ride and own bicycles. Wrist watches, aided by the post-war manufacture of cheap Swiss makes, are widely owned and demand is increasing. The upper class and urbanites in general give canned fruits and candies to one another as gifts; refrigerators and electric fans are coming into more common use among the urban class, as are vacuum flasks, tea, coffee, industrially produced beverages, and a host of other "modern" goods. Thus Kanuri tastes are widening, and foreign travel, as well as modern means of mass communications, are informing an ever growing section of the population about the comparative poverty of